

The Charlotte Journal.

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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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"Perpetual Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," for "Power is always Stealing from the Many to the Few."

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Political.

South Carolina State Rights Convention.

Mr. Gregg, from the Committee of twenty-one submitted the following Resolutions as expressive of the sentiments of the Convention, and an Address to the Southern Rights Associations of the Southern States:

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the State of South Carolina cannot submit to the wrongs and aggressions which have been perpetrated by the Federal Government and the Northern States, without dishonor and ruin and that it is an imperative duty to resist them, whether with or without the co-operation of other Southern States.
2. Resolved, That no act of submission or compromise on the part of the South, whether through the proposed Southern Congress, or in any other manner, is an act worthy of a free people, but that the only honorable course is to resist them to the last.
3. Resolved, That we hold the right of secession to be essential to the sovereignty and freedom of the States of this Confederacy; and that the denial of that right would furnish to the injured States the strongest additional cause for its exercise.
4. Resolved, That this meeting looks with confidence and hope to the Convention of the People to exert the sovereign power of the State in defence of its rights, at the earliest practicable period and in the most effectual manner, and to the Legislature, to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures to ward off the same end.

ADDRESS

From the Delegates of the Southern Rights Associations of South Carolina, as embodied in Charleston, to the Southern Rights Associations of the other Southern States.

Having met to take counsel together, and having agreed upon that course which we think it right and necessary to pursue, we wish to lay before you the considerations by which we have been governed, with that frankness which we respect for you, and our desire to merit your good opinion, require.

We regard the position of the Southern States in this Confederacy as degraded and ruinous. The manifest tendency of those systematic aggressions which they have suffered for many years past, is to subvert the institution of slavery. If those acts of hostile domination, which have been rendered more insulting by mockery of language, under the term of a compromise, were final in their nature, and were not to be followed by any further aggressions, we should still regard them as outrages, to which sovereign States, possessing the spirit of freedom, ought never to submit. But those measures only form part of a system, gradually commenced, steadily carried forward, gathering strength from development, and proceeding with fatal momentum to its end. That end is the abolition of negro slavery in the Southern States, and the lowering of the free white population of the South to the same level with that agrarian rabble, which, already strong and dangerous, seems destined, before very long, to be the controlling power in the Northern States. We see no remedy and no safety for the South in the present Union. But we know that in this we differ from very many citizens of the other Southern States, spirited and intelligent, having the same interests, and suffering under the same wrongs with ourselves, and who cherish the hope that the rights of the South may be vindicated and secured without dissolving the existing Confederacy.

In this difference, it does not become us to assume to dictate, and we hope to stand free from that charge. Up to this time, the citizens of South Carolina, aware that the peculiarities of political position, arising from past events, rendered a certain reserve on their part prudent and proper, have studiously avoided everything which might look like assuming the lead in the defence of Southern Rights. They desired to act, because they believed that safety and honor required action; but they hoped that they might find leaders in other States, whom they might follow in defence of the common cause. When the ancient Commonwealth of Virginia, the proper leader of the South, declared her determination to resist, at all hazards and to the last extremity, hostile measures then threatened, South Carolina, with all alacrity, stood ready to support Virginia in carrying out her high resolution. When Georgia—whose former resistance to Federal usurpation, under her heroic statesman, Troup, gave promise of unflinching firmness in any contest in which she might engage—proclaimed her determination to make a stand for the rights of the South, South Carolina rejoiced at the prospect of rallying under the banner of Georgia. And when her young and gallant sister, Mississippi, proposed the wise measure of a Southern Convention, for the purpose of endeavoring to unite the Southern States in maintaining their constitutional rights, and at the same time preserving, if possible, the existing Union, South Carolina heartily entered into this measure; and she has carried out the recommendation of the Convention so assembled at the instance of Mississippi, by providing for the election of Delegates to a Southern Congress, to whose meeting she still looks with anxious interest.

In all these proceedings we think that the citizens of South Carolina have evinced all proper anxiety to avoid the appearance of arrogance or dictation, to act in concert with the citizens of the other Southern States, and to do nothing separately or precipitately. And now, strongly as we have expressed our belief that there is no hope for the South in the existing Union, we are prepared to give a trial, fairly and in good faith to any efficient plan which may be proposed by any sister State of the South, for obtaining redress for the past and security for the future, without a dissolution of the existing Union, if there be a possibility of such a consummation.

But we find ourselves forced to consider the ulterior question, what we are to do, if we find that there is no reasonable hope of the co-operation of any other Southern State in any efficient plan of relief; and the alternative is presented to us, of submitting, or acting by ourselves. And, reluctant as we are to separate ourselves from our natural friends, and allies, we have made up our minds. We cannot submit. We know that South Carolina entered this Confederacy as a sovereign and independent State, and that, having been wronged, she has the perfect right to withdraw from it. Her sins must exercise the right and meet the consequences. If no other State will join us in relieving ourselves from the wrongs already inflicted, we see no hope in waiting for new outrages, to avenge a higher spirit of resistance. The new outrages, we are well convinced, will come in due time; but we feel no assurance that the spirit of the vassal will rise in proportion to the indignities heaped upon his head. On the contrary, we see that the South has already borne what it would not for a moment have submitted to ten years ago, and what the North would not then have ventured to perpetrate. We are not willing to try the experiment how long it will be before our spirit is completely broken, by gradually and continuously yielding to slow and gradual, but increasing encroachments. And if the exercise of the right of secession is to be followed by the attempt on the part of the Government of this Confederacy to subjugate South Carolina, it is better that we should meet that attempt while we still have some spirit and some power of resistance left. If we are to submit to the condition of conquered people, we think it less dishonorable not to do so until we have first been conquered. And if anything could add to the necessity which we believe exists for a withdrawal from the existing Union, it would be the denial of that right of secession. For the denial of that right indicates of itself extreme danger. The right of secession has heretofore, and in better days, been regarded as unquestionable by all Southern politicians, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of consolidationists. And if ever that right can be denied without arousing the whole South to sustain it, the South will be ripe for the most miserable fate which has ever befallen any people. It will then be as a permanent sectional minority, have no defence against the tyranny of a Government combining all the vices of the corrupt Democracy and the most oppressive despotism.

We know the consequences which will follow a failure in our effort to maintain our liberty. We see clearly that a triumphant exercise of the power of the Federal Government, in subjugating a State, will vastly increase that power, and greatly accelerate the change, already far advanced, of our Federal system into a consolidated central despotism. We see, also, that South Carolina will not suffer the consequences of this change alone, but that the rest of the Southern States must suffer in an equal degree. They will have no safeguard against the central Government, strengthened by crushing opposition and rendered, by triumphant force, what our Northern enemies have long been endeavoring to make it, by fraudulent usurpation—the supreme Government of a consolidated nation. The sovereignty of one Southern State cannot be destroyed without the loss of the sovereignty of all the others. We are aware of the responsibility of doing an act which may hasten these consequences. We feel the respect which we owe to States having a common interest, threatened by a common danger, but not equally persuaded with ourselves of the necessity of the action. And nothing would induce us to take, without their concurrence, a course which is to involve them in its consequences, but a thorough conviction of the necessity which urges us, and our right to do so.

Addressing citizens of Southern States, as associated to maintain the rights of the South, we cannot imagine it to be necessary to argue about the right of secession. We hold it to be the great State right, without which all others are nugatory and incapable of being enforced; and your position assures us that your faith cannot be different from ours.

Nor can we regard it as necessary any further to discuss the wrongs which have been inflicted on the Southern States. They may be denied by those who shut their eyes to them, but you do not belong to that class. Southern and States Rights men may differ as to the necessity of exercising the right of secession at a particular time, on account of those wrongs. But as certainly as the right of judging for herself as to the occasion and time for its exercise. If South Carolina decides that honor and safety require her to secede, she has the right to leave the Confederacy peaceably and without molestation. If the act of secession is not permitted to be peaceable, it will be from usurpation of power by the Federal Government, not from the nature of the act performed by South Carolina. Accustomed as we have been to violations of the Constitution and of the rights of the Southern States by the Federal Government, we have to look forward to the probability of another outrage by that Government, in the attempt to force the State to remain in the Union. We suppose the attempt will be made, if the other Southern States permit it. Those States must decide for themselves whether they will permit it. South Carolina must decide for herself whether it is necessary to secede. Her sister States of the South will have no right to complain that she forces them into a position where they must either interpose to prevent her subjugation, or, by consenting to it, abandon their own sovereignty, and lay themselves at the

mercy of a despotic power. In seceding, South Carolina will simply do an act which all Southern men who believe in the existence of State rights at all, must admit that she has a perfect right to do, and which she regards as absolutely necessary. She will be acting as she would have to act, if none of the other Southern States were in existence, and she were the only object of aggression by the Northern States and the Federal Government. She is not answerable for the usurpations and injustices which may be committed against her. And for her sister States of the South to ask of her to refrain from an exercise of right which she regards as indispensable for self preservation would be an interference with her free action of a far different character from any with which she can be charged towards them. Sovereigns are equals. In seceding alone, South Carolina would be placing her sister States of the South under no constraint. If they should find themselves in a position of constraint, it would come from the action of the Federal Government, not of South Carolina. But if they should insist upon her refraining from the exercise of her right, and submitting to a condition which she regards as intolerable, they would make themselves parties with the Federal Government, in placing an unjustifiable constraint upon a sovereign and an equal.

We wish that the necessity for separate action by South Carolina, which we have contemplated, may be averted. We confide in the gallant spirits whom we address. There may be some hope of the assembling of a Southern Congress, to devise measures of redress and relief, upon which some of the injured States may unite. We have heretofore been willing to sacrifice much for Southern Union. We still are. We do not desire to lead, but to follow. Propose any efficient measures for vindicating our common rights, and providing for our common safety, and we will heartily unite with you in carrying them out. We should regret most deeply to incur the censure of friends, with whom we have the strongest desire to act in concert. But we feel a deep conviction that we have not acted heretofore with any precipitation, and that we are to the right in the determination which we have formed. The self-abandonment of submission, appears to us unworthy of men still pretending to be free. The gloomy prospect of inevitable ruin, to follow submission, appears to us more formidable than any dangers to be encountered in contending alone, against whatever odds, for our rights. We have come to the deliberate conclusion that if it be our fate to be left alone in the struggle, alone we must vindicate our liberty by secession.

THE GAME OF DECEPTION.

The course which has brought South Carolina to the melancholy condition of treason in which we now behold her, was one of deceit—effected devotion to the Constitution and the Union, with insidious assaults upon both. By this means the unwary were entrapped, through false statements of injuries and the ruin to South Carolina.

The same game is now played in North Carolina. In our last Legislature were a number of secessionists—not now, but hereafter, when the occasion should call for action. They only waited to establish the principle now, as an abstract right. This was a thin veil, covering South Carolina treason to the Constitution and Union, which manifested itself whenever it dared to show itself by the certainty of a fellow feeling.

We have an instance of this in point. In the Charlotte Hornets' Nest of May 31 the Editor says,—

"The position of the Democrats in this State upon the only question which should, and which only does divide men (and not parties) is the safe one. In case of the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law by Congress, the Democrats are in favor of secession. Not secession now, mark it distinctly, but only in favor of it when they see they will resist."

Two days after this was printed, the Editor makes his appearance in the Charleston Convention, whose only object was to determine whether South Carolina shall secede now, or wait the similar action of other Southern States. The first thing we see of the Editor is his offering the following resolution: "Resolved—Action."

Well, this looks like secession without waiting for "the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law by Congress."

The next we see of this Editor is the following report of his speech by the Charleston Courier:

"Mr. Badger, Editor of the Charlotte, N. C., 'Hornet's Nest and True Southron,' a delegate from both the York and Indian Lands Associations craved the indulgence of a meeting for addressing them, but considered that he should be dead in the noblest principles of nature if he could sit and hear unmoved, the many compliments that had been paid, during the progress of the debate, to North Carolina, his adopted State. His forefathers were South Carolinians—he himself was a Virginian by birth, and he was now half way back in his pilgrimage to the Mecca of his fathers. Mr. Badger, with considerable earnestness and eloquence, advocated separate state action, and assured the Convention that the moment South Carolina acted, she would touch a chord in the hearts of the young men of North Carolina, that would bring them from the mountains to the seaboard, to her aid."

Several things in this are worthy of note. The most important is the assertion that the young men of North Carolina are going to

the aid of South Carolina when she secedes. It would be dangerous for South Carolina to rely on such random statements. It may even be questioned whether this pilgrim himself would finish his journey to Mecca in such a journey, but if he did, his companions would be few, and they would all be officers—no privates. They might not be well equipped, for South Carolina has no regular troops to every private.

The next thing remarkable is, that we have read the accounts of the sayings and doings of the Convention with care, and we have nowhere, except in the speech of Mr. Badger himself, seen North Carolina mentioned. We were congratulating ourselves on this fact, when the speech came, to damp our joy. We have a faint hope, however, that the speech was copied in anticipation of the Convention, and of the great things which might therein be said of North Carolina, and that, having been prepared, it would not do to let it spoil for want of delivery. Of one thing we do rejoice, that no nation of North Carolina—none but one who boasted that he was half Virginian, half South Carolinian—was in such a place to misrepresent North Carolina.

Our main object in noticing this is, however, to caution our readers against all this tribe of secessionists not now, but hereafter. They are hostile to the Union, and are working insidiously to overthrow it. They dare not come out openly, for then their influence would be at an end. But they are dangerous under their assumed mask.—Fay Observer.

FROM THE CHARLOTTE COURIER.

Is Secession a practical remedy for the evils under which we live?

"Every Kingdom divided against itself, is brought to desolation." If history has illustrated one axiom of Divine wisdom, it is the above striking and sweeping declaration of our Saviour, and beneath those who are now urging on the mad schemes of State secession against the convictions, of many of their friends, and the opposition of every other State, than South Carolina, to enquire whether it is likely the doom pronounced by this "High Authority," and which has always followed when Kingdoms have been divided against themselves, will be abrogated as it regards the slave States of the South. State secession as sanctioned and urged by the late Convention, is a positive division of the slave interest against itself. It cannot be urged that this argument will apply to the plan of a SOUTHERN REPUBLIC, because that Republic if formed, will be upon the very basis of slavery itself, and will simply draw a line between two principles naturally at war, thus producing peace. But the Divine declaration and the records of history tell with fearful force when applied to a Kingdom warring against itself, and any of its fundamental principles. Slavery is a fundamental principle in the slave States, and though some States originally slave have become free, that change has been in every case a natural one. Not in a single instance in this country has the change been forced; and when in other countries it has, as in the English Western Isles, then it has caused ruin. Against this natural change no human power can offer the slightest successful resistance, and if we continue united in protecting our own natural rights, we shall never be injured by any change that onward movement of man may produce. Slavery has always spread itself with more rapidity over new sections, and so it will continue to do; provided we do not, by any suicidal act, destroy the slave States against each other. It takes place, the first fatal blow with the stroke at the very roots of the institution. Combined, united, the slave States can resist all the assaults of designing demagogues, upstart politicians, mistaken philanthropists, or markish sympathy; but divided against themselves on this question, and whatever may occur to other interests, that element will be introduced among ourselves, which all history has taught, proves fatal. And now we are prepared to examine the great question suggested by the preceding remarks: Will secession by South Carolina create division in the slave States? or in other words if our State forces the issue, will the other States come to the rescue? If we believe that the sentiments of the people of Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia, are expressed by the loud tones of a paper or two, scattered here and there, and whose shrill blasts on South Carolina politics and movements, are the only evidence of their whereabouts, and their vitality, we indulge the hope that in the hour of danger, those States would rush to our assistance. But if we take as our mentor, the people themselves; if we will be guided by their views, as we gather them from their own lips; if we will regard as a warning, the ominous calm among them, as their neighbor is preparing to sound the tocsin of war, we must be convinced that if the issue is now made, no assistance will come from any one of those States. What! when South Carolina, under the pressure of evils which bear on all these States alike, is preparing to go out of the Union; when her people are unanimously, almost, announcing through a Convention their unalterable determination; when money has been voted, taxes imposed and funds raised to meet the emergency; when warlike implements and munitions are being purchased; when every thing, on our part, denotes earnestness in the cause—and not another State moves a finger—not a dollar is voted or raised, not a gun purchased, not a pound of ammunition procured, we are to believe that those States will come to our help next winter. If this is not the

blind delusion of infatuation, we do not know what it is. These States will not one of them take part with Carolina on this issue, and if it is pressed upon them by the acts of this State, then will take place that decision on the part of those and other slave States, that will be fatal to the institution of slavery as a principle. In other words, South Carolina will be the first to destroy herself.

The States, and the people of the South, are to be warned. As long as slavery is the first intent in a State, so long it is a seed, whenever it becomes second-ry it is a weed, and will eventually perish. Take the situation of Georgia—if South Carolina urges on Secession as a remedy for the assaults upon Southern institutions, then Georgia, as a people, must decide between sustaining Carolina in a position she has assumed hastily, and without regard to the movements of her sister States and her own immense commerce and her mighty industrial pursuits. Georgia has other interests besides slavery—it should be our study never to place her, by our action, in a position to calculate the relative value of that institution, and her other commanding interests. If we do, the calculation will be generally by such views as will most assuredly leave South Carolina to fight her own battles, while Georgia will monopolize her trade and exhaust her floating capital. Georgia will eventually feel the pressure upon her social organization in a form that will impel her to action, but she has not felt it yet, and with her present prosperity, a gain of 45 per cent, in ten years of population, and with an unbroken tide of success pouring upon her in all her departments of industry, it is the height of absurdity to suppose that she will rush, next winter, into a course of conduct that will put a stop to all her present prosperity at least, and will leave but a doubtful future. So much for the reasonableness of the argument. But as a Carolinian, we have a few more ideas on this point. We believe that Georgia at this moment, in relation to any hope of assistance to South Carolina, in case of secession, is as little reliable as Vermont and in our next number we will endeavor to show how strongly her commercial, agricultural and mechanical interests are bearing upon us, and what curious results are now growing out of even the agitation of the doctrine of secession in South Carolina. CINCINNATUS.

A MILLIONAIRES FEAST.

A Paris letter gives this account of a dinner party given by Baron Rothschild to Narvarz at which were present only twenty-eight guests, the flower of the French Aristocracy:

"In the first place, there was the splendid service of Sevres porcelain, which belonged to the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and which was bought by Rothschild for 150,000 francs. Besides this enormous price he still pays an annuity of 10,000 francs to the person who consigned to give it up to him. During the repast the whole service of the table was changed four times, the last being of silver and gold, worked by the most celebrated artists of Europe. It was almost impossible to tell by what end, by what side, to take hold of the things, the use of which almost disappeared beneath the material and the workmanship, both so precious as to make of most ordinary articles veritable works of art. The knives for instance, were so ornamented, so carved, that it was quite difficult to handle them."

All these riches were sent off to London the day after the revolution of February, and when dispersed at a grand dinner given to the Duke of Wellington. As to the tables of the dinner I am doing things, was a reporter, they consisted of the impossibilities of the season, sought out from the most celebrated hot-houses, and hunted from the most noted hunting grounds in France. Peaches, cherries, strawberries, appeared in the greatest abundance at the dessert, by the side of pineapples, which, says the reporter, blushed at having cost only one hundred francs apiece. Besides these were various rare fruits from tropical climates; in short, the luxury was of the most unheard of character and the guests did not rise from table until after ten o'clock.

THE CUBA EXPEDITION.

Some new light will shortly be thrown upon this affair, as the authorities in New York city are in possession of conclusive evidence respecting the intended invasion. Four books—one large one and three small ones—have been seized, which it is said, contain certain proofs of the military expedition, with notes of the companies and with the names of seven hundred men enlisted for the invasion.

A CURIOSITY.

A San Francisco letter states that Professor Shepherd has discovered, within one hundred miles of that city, what is termed the "Geyser fountains," where may be seen trees of immense size standing, but the trunk and limbs all in a state of perfect petrification. Specimens of sulphurated rock. Petrified wood, &c. have been sent to the World's Fair in London.

DAMAGE TO THE TOBACCO.

The Georgetown (D. C.) Advocate learns from a gentleman who has just passed through the country, that the frost experienced a few nights ago has done very considerable damage to the young tobacco plants, which have been very generally destroyed upon the Patuxent river. The corn has also been much injured in that section.

Virginia and Secession.

From the Richmond Times of May the 7th. High as Mr. Madison's authority is in all matters of constitutional interpretation, his correspondence with Hamilton is not chiefly remarkable as making known his individual opinion on the question of the right of a State to withdraw from the Union. Its great value consists in the historical facts of which it is the unimpeachable record. It testifies to the uniform, for all time, that the States entered the Union with an explicit understanding that the act was irrevocable except by the process of revolution. It certifies that in Virginia, particularly, where the opposition to the constitution was most powerful, the scheme of seceding, as a condition of ratification, that very right, which South Carolina now asserts without reservation, was started and abandoned. Of this important fact we had not before been advised; but we were well aware that, in the Virginia Convention, the great contest between the friends of the Constitution and its opponents was upon the question of previous or subsequent amendments. Patrick Henry and George Mason, at the head of the opposition, strained all their energies to procure a decision for previous amendments. The whole scope of their arguments was to show that the proposed Constitution would erect a great consolidated Government, the acceptance of which, Virginia could never resist, and which, therefore, she ought only to accept upon condition of obtaining such modifications as they considered indispensable. Madison, Marshall, Pendleton and Nicholson on the other hand, contended that the State should ratify unconditionally, and recommend to the first Congress such amendments as she wished, in order that they might be adopted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. If the opponents of the Constitution had conceived such a theory, as that the State would have the right to secede whenever she might become dissatisfied, it is impossible to suppose that they would have insisted on "previous amendments," or in other words, a conditional ratification. What was the view of its friends is evidenced by Mr. Madison's letter to Hamilton. After the memorable debate which was waged between the opposing parties from the 24 to the 25th of June, the Committee of the Whole, on the latter day, reported to the Convention a preamble and the two following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the Constitution be ratified.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that who ever amendment may be recommended to the Congress which shall first assemble under the said Constitution, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article thereof."

A motion was made to amend the first resolution by substituting:

"Resolved, That, previous to the ratification of the new Constitution of Government, recommended by the late Federal Convention, a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachments the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the inalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of Government, ought to be referred by this Convention to the other States of the American confederacy for their consideration."

The amendment was rejected—ayes 80, noes 58.

The first resolution of the Committee of the Whole was then agreed to—ayes 80 noes 59; and the second resolution was agreed to without a division. The ratification was made to conform to the resolves, and a bill of rights and various amendments of the Constitution were recommended to Congress.

It would be easy to produce from the debates of the Virginia Convention many declarations, by speakers on both sides, which show, beyond any sort of question, that the unconditional ratification finally determined upon, was universally understood to preclude the possibility of the State's receding from the Union. True, the form of ratification affirmed that the "power granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression;" but this was only the assertion of the undoubted right of popular resistance to oppression, and not of the right of a State to withdraw from the Confederacy, without the corresponding right to the remaining States to judge whether she has or has not just cause for dissatisfaction.

Nevertheless, we do not hold with Judge Rennie, the great head of Virginia Democracy, that, "secession is treason." We believe that a State may be rightfully coerced by her confederates, and forced to perform her stipulated obligations; as the members of a mere league may undoubtedly coerce any recalcitrant party to it. But we cannot consider our Union as having so divested the States of the attributes of sovereignty as to be competent to impose the penalties of treason upon one of them which may, in her State capacity, determine to abandon the Federal compact, trusting in God, her own energies, the sympathies of mankind, and the justice of her cause to sustain her. In brief, we eschew the doctrine that the citizens of such a State enlist under her banner "with halberds around their necks." But that they must expect to be coerced into submission if they cannot maintain themselves in arms, is, we think, undeniable, according to every just view of our Federal compact. And surely we cannot be charged with a very grievous heresy in this opinion, when it is remembered that Mr. Jefferson spoke of even the Old Confederation, in this manner.